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the child has his earliest and most meaningful contacts. In his own household live his parents and his brothers and sisters. Only adoption or exceptional circumstances bring others into the home. Within easy reach are the maternal grandparents, the mother's sisters and their husbands and children, and the mother's unmarried brothers.

The child is not entirely cut off from other contacts. The extended family from which his father has come may be located in the same vicinity. Then the paternal relatives will see him often and show great affection for him.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There are no special modes of address or obligations owed to maternal relatives which are withheld from paternal relatives. That the mother's kin figure so prominently is a mechanical reaction to the rule of residence and the scattered and isolated state of the extended families rather than to any theories concerning the closeness or remoteness of particular lines of kin.

The adult men the child sees are dressed in long-sleeved buckskin shirts, with rounded neck opening and with fringe at the shoulders and at the lower ends of the sleeves. They also wear broad loincloths of the same material which fall to a point just above the knees in front and hang in back "just high enough so they won't be stepped on." For footgear they have knee-high moccasins with uppers turned down in folds. These folds are convenient places in which to carry knives or small objects. Often an upward-curving, disk-shaped piece about an inch and a half in diameter projects beyond the toe. This is really a portion of the rawhide sole which has been pounded, moistened, and sewed into position at either side. When it dries, it stays fixed. This projection is found most often on moccasins made for special or dress occasions. "The upturned toe is for decoration only; it's of no special use. In fact, a person sometimes trips on it."

The high boot is the characteristic type, but, when buckskin is scarce, low-cut moccasins suffice. Sometimes high moccasins are worn in cold weather and low ones in summer. Among the members of the Eastern Chiricahua band, but not the Southern and Central Chiricahua, the low-cut moccasins are used almost as frequently as the others.

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462 313 [283] [281]

Men can carry wood, but they think it is woman's work. The women make their own rope out of hide, a special rope. It is about five yards long and of hard rawhide. They soften it with brains just enough so they can tie it. The women use this rope for getting wood.

313 482 283

When a woman is going to get some wood, she doesn't carry great logs. She gets thin pieces of brush and sticks about three feet long and makes them into a bundle about a foot and a half thick. She ties the bundle at either end with this rope, leaving a rather long loop between. She puts the wood in a bundle on her back, and the rope comes over her shoulders and across her chest, or else just across her forehead.

A man could use this rope if he wanted to—to hobble horses for instance. But the rope is put where the woman can get it any time to carry wood. The man uses it only if he needs a rope in a hurry.

312 462 [415]

The woman must keep on hand a plentiful supply of water for drinking, cooking, and washing. She brings it from a near-by spring or stream in a pitch-covered basketry jar.

281 [462] [193]

Tanning and the use of hides.—"Tanning the hide is always considered woman's work. Men never do it." In the mythology, when Woodpecker wishes to deceive Coyote and make him think he is a girl, he scrapes a hide after the fashion of women. Yet certain realistic concessions are made. "Sometimes a man helps if it is a hard job, a big hide; he helps stretch it because it takes great strength."

The fresh pelt is treated in this manner:

[412] [178]

First the woman who is doing the tanning scrapes off the flesh with a sharpened deer bone or a sharp-edged stone. (At present she uses a scraper with a toothed metal blade.) Then she soaks the hide in water for two or three days—not too long or it will spoil. To soak the skin, she uses a basin formed of some stiff hide. Then she takes the skin out of the water and wraps it around a pole. She leans this pole against a tree so that the hide will not pull away. Then she scrapes downward with a sharpened horse rib and takes the hair off. She uses a rib near the neck because it is wider there.

When all the hair has been removed, she puts some grass on the ground and lays the skin on top of this grass with the inner side facing upward. She pegs it out here in the sun to dry for two or three days. If it is lumpy or too thick in places, she works it over with a rough stone to even it up and to soften it at those places.

The process of transforming the scraped hide into buckskin has been thus described:

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To turn it from rawhide to buckskin, the woman uses deer brains. She boils the brain just a little, just steams it, and then works it with her hands. As she works it, she puts warm water with it. Then she puts the hide in and works it until it gets soft. She takes it out and hangs it in the sun to dry a little. Then she wrings it out and starts to pull and stretch it.

She holds one end of it on the ground and stretches it by pulling at the other end. She works it all over and on both sides as it dries. If she starts early in the morning, she gets through about noon with this stretching. Once in a while she stops and lets it dry some more. By the time she is finished, it has turned to buckskin. Deerskin, antelope skin, and elkskin are treated in the same way.

Some women apply deer brains and fat directly to the hide before it is soaked in the water.

In cold weather when the tanned skin is not needed at once, the hide may be rolled up and put aside pending a milder season:

The skin should be made soft in summer. If it is worked in cold weather, you have to keep going and can't stop at any point until it is all finished, or it will not be a smooth job and will show where you started in again. In warm weather, though, it doesn't matter when you work on it. You can just pick it up any time and do as much as you want to on it and then lay it aside and pick it up again.

When thick rawhide is wanted, the method differs:

To get hide for moccasin soles, the woman begins just the same way as she does in making buckskin. She takes the hair off in the same way. But then she just lets the hide dry and uses it. Since it is for moccasin soles, she wants it thick, so she does not stretch it out with pins. If she wants to tan it, she will stretch it out; then it gets thin.

It often becomes necessary to re-work buckskin:

296
[281]

When you once turn hide to buckskin, you want to be very careful how you handle it. If you get it wet in one place, it's going to be hard there all the time. Then it has to be softened with a rough rock. After a rain, women will take buckskin moccasins or clothes, dry them, and then work them over with a rock. But the buckskin never gets as good as it was before.

If the rawhide bottoms of a pair of big overlapping moccasins wear out, they take off the soles. The uppers are sure to be dirty and hard near the soles. They may be torn where they were sewed. Then they take the moccasins and bury this hard part in damp ground. They sprinkle a little water on top of the ground, just enough to keep it damp. They leave the buckskin in the ground for a half-day or a little more. Then it is damp and soft and can be worked. They do this so that they will be able to stretch it and work it to fit the new bottom. I have seen this done many times.

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281 When a skin is to be used as a robe or a blanket, still another procedure is followed:

When a hide is to be used for a blanket, the hair is left on. Deer and mountain sheep pelts are prepared like this. The inner side is fleshed carefully and pounded to soften it. Deer brains are rubbed on this inner side, and the blanket is worked until it is soft.

When they have those skins with hair on for blankets, they use them any way according to the weather. In cold weather they put the fur side inside.

282 Making saddle bags is also one of the woman's tasks:

281 After the hide is removed, the woman stakes it out in the sun. Sometimes she
[462] has grass under it, sometimes not. The hair side is underneath. She leaves it there until it is dry. Then she takes it and puts the hair side up. She has a sharp tool with which to scrape off the hair. Then she fleshes it. After scraping it, she rubs it with the brains to make it soft. She doesn't soak it in water at all. Now she cleans, cuts, folds, and sews it. Then she cuts a slit in the middle and puts dirt in on each side. When the hide is entirely dry, she takes the dirt out. A bulge is left on each side where the dirt was. Then it is ready to be put on the horse.

415 The parfleche or flat hide container is a recent acquisition, and
184 its use has not penetrated to all sections of the tribe. Southern Chiricahua informants say that the parfleche was not made by them, and some Central Chiricahua report that it was not found in their group. One Central Chiricahua informant was much in-
[186] censed, however, at the suggestion that the parfleche he described might have been inspired by Mescalero examples:

The Chiricahua had the parfleche, as I have told you. In fact, it originated with the Chiricahua. These Mescalero never went around or found out anything! They stayed right here year after year. They got the parfleche from the Chiricahua. I was with the Chiricahua when they were going from Fort Apache to Florida [1886]. Some of them had parfleches then. I saw parfleches in my own home.

281 The Central Chiricahua parfleche is very simply made. The
282 fact that cowhide seems to be the only material used in its manu-
415 facture points to its recent adoption:

[177]
[462] In the old days we had parfleches. The woman made them, and it is hard work to make one. She has to scrape off the flesh from the inside of the skin and scrape a little of the fur off the top. She has to work around and around, and pound and pound it until she gets it the way she wants it. First she pounds it all

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over, or it will be too thick. Then she pounds it more where she is going to fold it.

She cuts it the size and shape she wants, so that when she folds it over it will come out even. It is made by folding the cowhide over. You fold it over once, and then again, and then from the ends. The end pieces go on top usually. Some fold the ends in first and then fold the sides. There is no one way of doing it. Next the woman cuts out a cowhide rope and ties it, first the long way and then the short way. That's all there is to it.

You can store things away in it and keep it in a cave, or you can carry it on your pack horse. Bushes and rocks won't hurt it. Rain won't hurt it, because it is made out of cowhide. I've seen some with fur on and some without fur. The Central Chiricahua never put designs on the parfleches. They have them all sizes. I never saw any that were not made of cowhide and never heard of any that were made of anything else.

The Eastern Chiricahua lavish more care upon the manufacture of the parfleche. Two side pieces are made to fit over the bottom, and then the two end pieces are brought over and laced. All the fur is taken off, and designs, "as on the bow," are painted on the outer surface. One informant stated that men cannot be present when a woman is working on a parfleche, an interesting example of the strong feeling for the sexual division of labor.

This feeling extends into the artistic field, and the character of the decoration on painted or incised objects is determined by the sex of the worker. "Men draw things, such as animals, people, and freehand figures. Women do not. I would feel that it was out of place for a woman to do this. She doesn't even paint a star. She would just make certain patterns [conventional designs]. She can do this at any time."

Other hide objects besides parfleches are made by the woman. Awl cases and pollen bags are fashioned from buckskin. Bags to hold piñon nuts and acorns are made of badger skins. These are hung in the home, as much for their beauty as for their utility. The woman also cuts plate-shaped pieces of rawhide to be used "like the shallow woven bowl." In addition, she prepares "a container of rawhide, having the shape of a burden basket, but only half as large" to be used as a water carrier.

The quiver and the bow cover are so intimately associated with masculine activities that it is considered essential for a man to have some part in making them. The woman prepares the

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281 462 skin, the man cuts out the pieces to be used, and the woman sews them together.

281 386 The women color buckskin with a number of dyes of their own making. Dark brown is obtained from the juice of fresh walnut hulls, crushed and pressed. The buckskin is soaked in a mixture of the walnut-hull juice and water and is then re-worked to softness. Red is secured from the boiled root and bark of mountain mahogany. When this dye is lukewarm or cool, the buckskin is put in it and is left overnight or for a day; later it must be reworked with a stone until it is pliable. A yellow decoction is made by soaking algerita roots. The buckskin is left in the dye until it is yellow and is afterward pounded and softened. Yellow ocher is sometimes applied to the entire surface of a buckskin; as the color wears away, more ocher must be rubbed on.

294 237 283 Sewing is essentially the concern of the women, though men on the raid will do repair work. For thread, the woman needs sinew. Therefore the hunter, when he butchers an animal, always removes the sinew from the loin very carefully and presents it to his wife. Sinew from any large game animal is acceptable, though that from the deer is considered best. In recent times [178] sinew from the horse and the steer have come to be widely used. [412] With an awl made from the sharpened leg bone of the deer, the woman punches a hole in the skin she is sewing, moistens the end of the sinew, and runs it through the hole.

285 [462] *Basketry.*—Basket-making is one of the many tasks for which the woman supplies both the materials and the labor, and she possesses a large fund of knowledge concerning substances and techniques. [824] She rarely uses cottonwood, since it breaks too easily. She does not use willow unless no other materials are available. She knows that, if she gathers stems in the spring, she will have to let them dry for some days but that, if she takes them in the winter, they are dry enough to use almost at once.

285 824 The woman makes a coiled tray basket with sumac stems for the foundation and yucca leaves for the sewing material and designs it with yucca of various colors:

> To turn the yucca yellow, put dry grass among the leaves in the yucca plant while it is standing in the ground; then set fire to the grass. The fire and smoke

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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714 281 steel knives and not before.) Then he rakes together sand and builds a fire on it. When the sand is thoroughly heated, he rakes the coals away and pegs the hide down over that place. Then he scrapes the fur from the outside and pegs it down again in another place that has been heated first. Now he takes it up and cuts the hide to the size he wants his shield to be. He makes two holes and ties on a handle big enough to grasp. Sometimes he has another handle so that his arm can [531] be fitted in too. Some men design their shields with sun symbols or other things and paint them various colors.

[531] [386] [126] Many shields are without buckskin covers and have the design painted on the rawhide. One of these which I collected is painted with yellow ocher and has a black morning-star design. More elaborate and Plains-like shields are not unknown, however.

Some shields are covered tightly with buckskin; the designs are painted on the buckskin. The buckskin is sewed onto the hide. Holes are driven through the [237] hide for the purpose of fastening the cover on. There are tail and inner wing feathers of the eagle around the edge, and there are two more eagle feathers in the center. The eagle feathers mean that the maker has power. Just a few men had shields.

To give a shield marked convexity, a wet hide is pressed into a shallow hole in the ground and left to dry there. Buffalo hide is said to have been the material liked best in former times, but the supply obtainable must have been very small. Almost all the shields which informants had made or had seen made were of cowhide.

411 The warrior may prepare another weapon, the war club. A round stone, the size of a man's fist, is covered with rawhide and connected by a short length of flexible rawhide to a wooden handle. The handle is often covered with buckskin. A loop is pro- [237] vided at the end of the handle for the hand. A horse tail or, after the introduction of cattle, a cow's tail is often attached to the [531] end of the handle too. Such clubs, or "stone carriers," are sometimes painted red or black, especially along the handle. While they vary in length, the average specimen seems to be approximately twenty inches long from stone to handle end.

Less frequently another type of war club, really a hand ax, is [172] made. A grooved stone ax head (more often than not of ancient Pueblo manufacture) is inserted into a handle which has been split to receive it. Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of

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If it rained we had a slow-burning fuse that kept a fire going. And when it burned to the end we lit another from it. Thus we kept a fire burning at a rainy time. To play safe, we usually took these fuses along with us in case of emergency, especially if it looked like rain. 372

Since the operation of the fire drill is considered hard work, whenever there is a chance of getting fire by other means, these are attempted first. It is not unusual, for instance, to send some member of the household to a neighboring camp to borrow fire. He "carries a hot coal between two sticks and runs back to his camp. Mesquite wood will burn the longest when carried this way."

Equipment for the horse.—There is a tendency to associate the horse with the man and his affairs. Women obtain horses by gift and in payment for services, particularly ceremonial services, but the majority of the horses remain in the possession of the men: 231 [562] 425 [422]

Caring for stock is man's work. Men round up the horses and cattle. When a horse is to be loaded, the woman gets the pack ready, but the man does the loading. Men make the saddles, and they saddle the horses for themselves and their wives. The women know how to saddle horses, however, and can do it when necessary. A woman might saddle a gentle horse. A widow has to saddle her own horse. [462]

It is the business of the man to furnish the equipment needed in making use of the horse—the saddle, stirrups, bridle, bit, and quirt. [492] [462]

The saddle, which is modeled after European examples, has a cottonwood framework. Tree forks are whittled down to form the front and cantle. On the front a projection is left for the horn. Two flat boards are lashed between these forks, one on either side, to form the saddle skirts. Wet hide, often with the fur left on, is stretched over this frame and laced into place. As it dries, it contracts and fits securely. When metal tools came into use, the pieces of the frame were joined still more solidly by burning holes through the wood with a red-hot metal punch and drawing rawhide laces through them. 492 [179] [322] [281] [412] [322] [179]

The man also makes a pack saddle, little more than a pad or frame of grass or hide bundles. He makes, too, rounded oak stir-